

The Ecology of Crime, Fear, and Delinquency

Social Disorganization Versus Social Efficacy

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Some Background

The Eighteenth Century

Napoleon was a pretty big guy, even though virtually challenged. He knew how to get things done. He ran into a few problems outside Moscow and had a really bad day at Waterloo, but when he wasn't busy trying to take places over, he was initiating reforms at home. In France, he centralized local governments; rewrote civil, commercial, and criminal law codes; and even cut across the budget, among other things. As a result of his efforts, in the years that followed, central officials and local arms of government agencies started collecting data about how the country was running. And as cities, happens with data, when researchers are hanging around, someone starts looking at them. Even back then, some people didn't get out enough.

Officials were particularly interested in seeing the effects of their new criminal laws. How many people were being arrested, imprisoned, flogged, or hung in different parts of the country? (Mazlindover 1966). Using a lot of ink and addition, researchers like Guerry and Quetelet in France found spatial variation in the rate at which people were being arrested for crime in different parts of the country (Brantingham and Brantingham 1993).

The specifics of the patterns they observed still hold true for researchers looking at spatial differences in crime rates today:

(1) There were 86 "departments" in France; a few had very high rates, a few had very low rates, and many places were in between. (2) These differences between regions appeared relatively stable over time. (3) The rates varied widely; for example, the rate of people accused of crimes against persons for the period 1826-1830 ranged from 1/2,199 in Corse to 1/37,014 in Creuse. (4) Patterns for violent and property crimes differed. Violent crimes were highest in southern rural areas; property rates were highest in industrialized, northern, urbanized departments. Each of these features of local crime rates has proven true in modern sociological research over the past 150 years.

Researchers in Britain found the same very broad composite patterns when they examined data at the county level and below: marked spatial variation in the crime rates (e.g., Glynn 1855). But the differences were not always what they expected. In the mid-1850s in Suffolk County, England, the highest crime rates were in the rural part of the county.

Complementing these statistical efforts were investigations by nineteenth-century British social workers going into some of these "bad" areas (Miles 1957). They saw deplorable conditions right out of a Charles Dickens novel. Their reports led to some widespread slum-clearing efforts. Nonetheless, some of these same locations, populated largely by "thieves and pickpockets and prostitutes," remained high crime areas in the late 1880s, at the turn of the century and through to the 1960s (Brantingham and Brantingham 1991, 11).

By the end of the nineteenth century, early criminal criminologists had discovered the following fundamental features about spatial and temporal distributions of crime:

- There is spatial variation in rates of reported crime. This variation shows up no matter the level of resolution. It is higher in those places than in others, regardless of whether one is looking at large-scale units, such as countries, or areas within countries, like different towns or different cities or different sections of a city.

- The spatial areas that are higher or lower high for a decade regardless of made in the 18
- Sometimes to what you want in rural areas point. In 1880 homicide rate states were 180000 and 1

The challenge is to explain higher or lower play higher and why in the field called egg researchers a fundamentally different

- Why are crime higher in some
- Why are the crime rates higher in some
- How do cities ing from where they are they come

The Two

The Pattern

In the twentieth century to examine crime rates (e.g., 4 But they illustrate standing the spatial level—now a 2.5. a city, for example' discuss was done from we get to the want to hear about Cyril Burt, an English 1883-1871; ever to be knighted fictitious female have done two him, may have felt

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